241 not common and only wealthy families can afford to keep a
233 herd of cattle or sheep. The general belief that the Lolo are a nomadic tribe is erroneous.

567 Agriculture and grazing will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6, "Economic Life." Here mention will be made only of family labor connected with these occupations. In a
[356] Lolo family, all housework is done by slaves under the supervision of the black Lolo master. Every black Lolo family has several household slaves called kuo-chuang wa-tzu [lit., "stove slaves"], who are white Lolo or Han-Chinese. These slaves
[592] live in the master's house, do housework for him, and are indebted to him for all their food and clothing. They own no property, but are themselves considered a part of their master's property. He can sell them whenever he pleases. The white Lolo who are not household slaves have their own dwelling places, land, cattle, and other property. Sometimes they also have Han-Chinese as slaves to work for them. On the other hand, they have to take orders from their black Lolo masters and perform duties for them. The white Lolo are never completely freed from the slave status.

512 In a Lolo household, both master and slaves rise early
[515] in the morning. They wipe their eyes clean with their hands, but do not wash their faces. The male slaves who tend cattle and sheep lead them up the mountain to graze, while those who farm take their tools to the field to plow or weed. Farming
[241 is a joint effort of husband and wife, who often work together
462] shoulder to shoulder in the field. In sowing, plowing, or harvesting, [43] men and women both participate. The herders usually take corn cakes made the night before to eat on the mountain. The farm workers generally return to the house for breakfast at about 10 o'clock, after which they do not go out to work again. Sometimes they stay home in the morning and go
241 to the field after breakfast. The Lolo do not engage in intensive farming. Though uncultivated lands lie everywhere in Liang Shan, the Lolo are not interested in developing them for cultivation. They are satisfied with having just enough food for family consumption.

[264] They have two meals, one in the morning and the other
252 in the evening, but no regular mealtime. The preparation of food is the duty of female household slaves. Dried corn or buckwheat, doled out to them from storage by the mistress of the house, is first ground into flour on the grindstone. After the stove is lighted, the flour is poured into an iron caldron, mixed with water and boiled, and then taken out and put into a round, flat-bottomed basket. The dough is kneaded into round

273 Lolo also know how to make wine from the grains. They drink heavily; when they get drunk they cause trouble, which frequently develops into a clan feud.

●512 The evening meal is usually served before it gets dark. After the meal they go out to enjoy the cool breeze or sit around and play until after dark when it is time to go to bed. They 513 have no bed or couch and just sleep on the floor. The master of the family sleeps in the living quarters, the male slaves [45] around the stove, and the female slaves near the grindstone on the right side of the room. They have neither mattress nor quilt. They lie on the ground and cover themselves with a woolen cape, the head pulled down under it and the feet pulled up around the body. During our stay with Lolo families, we often lighted the candles that we had brought with us. The Lolo 517 would be so excited by the glittering light that they would talk, frolic, play the jew's-harp, or dance. One night when we stayed at T'e-hsi on the right side of Huang-mao Kang, the light induced two sisters-in-law to dance the "stove dance" for our entertainment. It was indeed one of the most pleasant experiences during our stay in the Lolo area.

512 The daily family activities of work and play, eat, drink, and sleep constitute the normal flow of life in an endless continuous cycle, but each year there are also numerous special occasions, such as the New Year, sickness, exorcising, praying for rain, and others, to change the routine of life. As the set of activities on such occasions differs from daily routine, interpersonal relationships within the kin group are readjusted, the equilibrium of life undergoes some change, and the life cycle becomes renewed with the seasons.

805 The Lolo have no regular dates for their festivals. They 796 follow the Chinese calendar but have their own system of the 777 Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches [for computing days and years] to divine good or bad fortune. Three times a year on auspicious days in the third, seventh, and tenth months of the lunar year, they hold the ceremony of "sending off the Buddha" [see p. 116]. Prior to the New Year, which comes in the tenth 796 month, the Buddha has to be sent off before they can celebrate and enjoy themselves. To celebrate the New Year, they kill cattle, feast and drink, make New Year calls, and generally [527 have many good times. Married daughters return home for a 514] visit and together enjoy each other's company for several days. During the ceremony of sending off the Buddha, they kill oxen, [782] sheep, or chickens to sacrifice to the spirits and ghosts and pray for the safety of the family and good days ahead. The

175 of the southwestern I, with whom Ssue-ma Hsiang-ju /Chinese writer of the second century B.C./ communicated in the Han period. It is probable that the Miao tribes of Hunan and Kweichow provinces originally lived in fertile plains and valleys but were later forced by the Chinese to retreat into the mountains. The Lolo of Liang-shan, however, have always occupied the entire Liang-shan region. They preferred to live on high mountains even though their cultivated fields are centered around mountain streams.

181 The Lolo are a peaceful and contented agricultural people.
512 They are singularly frugal and grave in temperament; they neither laugh nor talk easily. This is especially true of the I of Liang-shan. They work in the rice fields throughout the day, return home at nightfall, and go to sleep immediately after the evening meal. There is hardly any singing or dancing. They form a strong contrast to the nomadic, unrestrained, and pleasure-loving Tibetans.

177 The majority of the Lolo in Yünnan have been very much sinified so that their original customs and habits have almost entirely disappeared. Only those living in the northern border close to Huei-li /a hsien in Sikang/ and in a section further south, as well as those in the district of Lu-nan hsien, keep some of their former manners. Most of their original traits, however, are still retained among the I people in the Ning districts, in Lei /Lei-po/, Ma /Ma-pien/, Ô /O-pien/, P'ing P'ing-shan/ of Szechwan province, and especially in the Liang-shan
565 gion. The Lolo of these regions are divided into two distinct social classes: the "Heh-I" and the "Wa-tzu." But this distinction is not found among all the Lolo tribes in Yünnan, and it is hard to say whether it once prevailed in all other places. Since most primitive societies still retain this type of social system, we assume--but do not venture to assert categorically--that it was originally practiced in all Lolo societies but was later abandoned by some groups that came under Chinese influence. It is also possible that this system had always existed in some regions and not at all in others.

For a thorough study of the Lolo problem, "Heh-I" and "Wa-tzu" are two technical terms which must be understood. The former designates the nobility among the Lolo (called Sepo in the Lolo language). The word "Heh" /black/ has no special significance. (The complexion of the Heh-I is in fact somewhat darker than that of the Chinese, but the so-called "Wa-tzu" or "Pê-I" /Pê means white/ are not really fairer than the Heh-I.) "Wa-tzu" (meaning children)--probably a word borrowed from the Chinese--is used to designate the slaves, who are

262 is therefore more extensively cultivated.) /102/ Nevertheless, summer is the golden season in the I region. The I have no knowledge
[251] of storage methods. In the autumn after they have consumed their summer provisions, they grind beans into a thick fluid called "lien-cha-nao," which they drink together with the solid residue. In the winter they have no alternative but to eat turnips as a means of survival. Spring is the most distressing season of the year so far as the food situation is concerned; their hunger can be relieved only with buns made from bitter artemisia plants.

264 The Lolo of Liang-shan toil throughout the year and eat only
512 two meals a day, i.e., in the morning and evening. They head for the fields after an early breakfast and take nothing else throughout the endlessly long day. (Occasionally, some buckwheat buns are brought to them for lunch, but this may be considered as an exception.) After sunset they return home for the evening meal and then go to sleep. They rise again early next morning and, like the donkey turning the mill, begin anew this rigid pattern of life. The I are vegetarians almost throughout the entire year, in contrast to the
[272] Mongolians who eat only meat and no vegetables. They also differ
[273] from the Tibetans in that they drink no tea but only unboiled water. They do, however, enjoy alcoholic drinks and pipe-smoking as much as the other races. The I slaughter animals and eat their meat only on festivals, upon the arrival of honored guests, or on such great
263 events as marriage or funeral. Table salt is rare and valuable in Liang-shan, and the I would often ask guests to contribute some, even in the midst of a sumptuous feast. Occasionally, when they are able to obtain some salt lumps in trade with the Chinese, they store them away carefully, so as to feed their sheep a few days later. Without salt, sheep would easily get sick or die of pestilence, and that is why the I would rather suffer themselves and save the salt for their sheep. It is said that the average amount of salt consumed by an I of Liang-shan in one year is not even one ounce, which is indeed an amazingly small quantity. Western dieticians claim that table salt is one of the most important elements of nutrition which people must take in adequate quantity. In our two-weeks' trip through Liang-shan this time we did not miss salt terribly, but we did begin to feel its lack toward the end of the journey. Yet the I who eat so little salt are very healthy,
000 at least to judge from appearances. This is a matter which should be studied and is worthy of further investigation. In our country there are many frontier tribes who have very peculiar and simple diet, and

342 use as the master's bedroom. The center room is always used as kitchen, dining room, and living room combined. The remaining one serves as a stable for the cows and horses at night. There are no 343 privies, for all Lolo relieve themselves outdoors. In Tibet, people live on the upper story, while the ground floor is used as a stall for cows and horses, and as a privy. The Lolo, however, lead an even more primitive life; one can actually say that these people share their habitations with cows and horses. They have no true upper story although each of the two side rooms has a low, suspended upper floor made of thin strips of bamboo, which may be reached with a removable ladder. These suspended platforms are used mainly for food storage. Guests are also welcome to sleep upstairs as an expression of hospitality, or they may sleep on the muddy ground in the center room. While traveling in Liang-shan, we always preferred to stay on the ground floor for sleeping upstairs involved the danger of breaking through the partition and falling right to the ground.

/106/ In front of each Lolo house, there is a small piece of level ground used as a day-time resting place. The rooms are used solely as sleeping quarters. Except for one door leading out from the center room, there are no other doors nor windows; in fact, windows do not exist in the I region. The rooms are therefore very dark even 512 in the daytime and it is most uncomfortable to remain indoors. Hence all daily activities are performed outdoors where the little piece of level ground serves as a center. They do not enter the rooms before it is dark, and instead of using lamps, borrow light from the "kuo-chuang" /a cooking-pot stand above the stove/ for an evening meal, after which they drop off to sleep. The Wa-tzu toil all day in the fields and do not return until dark. The Heh-I, who are not obliged to labor in the fields, also refrain from doing any kind of menial work, which is 574 to be done by the Wa-tzu upon their return. For this reason it is customary for travelers in Liang-shan to wait until nightfall to visit or lodge with a family. Before that time there would be no one in the Wa-tzu's house, and though there might be some people at the Heh-I's, there would be no Wa-tzu there to attend them. In both cases the arrival of guests would be most inconvenient and embarrassing to the host. Should one discover that the hour is still too early, one might as well first take a nap on the way. It is of course permissible to be a little early. Under these circumstances, however, one must definitely not burst into the host's rooms but must stop and wait at the level ground in front of the house, which is the place where a host entertains his guests during the day.